1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

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FIG. 6. Aztec sorcerers, sent from the highland, offer bewitched food to Cortes and his staff, who disdain the viands. *Codex Florentino*

[726] foreign to Indian principles of war. The simple Indian methods of mass attack were of little avail against the maneuvering of a well-drilled force, for the native tactics could only bring the merest fraction of their fighting force in direct contact with the enemy.

• [754] The Spaniards also resisted witchcraft on the occasion when Montezuma seriously applied it. However, scorcery, according to native standards, was at best a two-edged weapon, so that it is doubtful if this failure had any other than a confirmatory bearing on the Indian attitude of mind toward the supernatural quality of the Spaniards. The problem that beset Montezuma was not that the invaders were themselves gods, but that they were the symbols, the vicars on earth, as it were, of vast unearthly forces bent on establishing a new social order. As such the Spaniards required the most gingerly handling.[a] (See Fig. 6.)

175 669 When the Spaniards were approaching the capital a political problem entered to complicate the spiritual one. The

only misery, poverty, vanity, misfortune, and a life of woe.[4]

And if one were born at that time he was looked upon with fear; he was shunned. And if he were a man, they named him Nemon, Nentlacatl, Nenquizqui. Nowhere was he counted; he was not a man. And if it were a woman, [they named her] Nenciuatl.

And when [these days came], nothing was done; the palaces and courts were empty; no suits were judged. All stayed at home. None swept with brooms; they only fanned [the dust] with a fan, or a turkey quill, or with the wing of a bird; or they beat and cleaned with a cloak.

And no one might then quarrel; [for] this was strongly forbidden to people; it was severely forbidden to them. They were charged that none might wrangle. Neither might one sleep during the day. [If so,] it was said: "[So] shalt thou always."

Nor should anyone fall, or trip, or stumble. All walked softly. And to one who stumbled, they said: "Thou hast the Nemontemi; so shalt thou be. Be thou careful."

And whosoever then took sick and was ill, [of him] everyone said: "He hath sickened. Never more will he rise; no more may he have hope. That he will recover there is no hope." No longer had they hope for him.

And if one yet escaped [death], neither would any pay heed to him nor speak to him. It was said: "For it is only that he by whose grace we live hath acted and determined of his own will."

None, therefore, were comforted nor moved. His kin forgot him and laid him on the ground. No more might he be able to leave, to some degree get up [again], and take nourishment. For the setting in of the Nemontemi was terrifying.

For he had no day sign; he had no name; wherefore no one might, in truth, practice medicine and heal one, nor read the meaning of the days. For verily the days were not numbered; they had no count in all these four days.

linjlizt[li], nenquizcaiotl, nenquiçaliztli, ßoneuatinemjliztli.

Auh in aquin vncan tlacatia, cenca tlamauhcaittililoia, tlatẽmachililoia: auh intla oquichtli quitocaiotiaia Nemõ, nentlacatl, nenquizquj, acan ompouhquj acã, ompovi nenoquich. Auh intla cioatl: Nencioatl.

Auh in jquac y, atle aioaia, çan cactimãca in tecpan inteccali, amo tecutlatoloia, çan calonooaia; aiac tlachpanaia, ochpaoaztica: çan tlaiecapeviloia, ecaceoztica, anoço totolmamaztica, totolaavitztica, anoço tlavivitequja, tlapopovaia tilmatica:

yoan aiac vel vncan maoaia, cenca tetlacaoaltiloia, cẽca tetlaquauhnaoatiloia, tetepitznaoatiloia, tecocoltiloia injc aiac maoaz: ano ac cemjlhujcochia: vncan teilhujloia. Centicujz:

ano ac vel motlavitequja, moticujnjaia, motepotlamjaia; nematca, nenemoaia: auh in aquin motepotlamjaia: qujlhujaia. Otimonemovi, ocenticcujc, ma ximjmati.

Auh in aquin ipan y, cocoliztli qujcuja mococoaia: muchi tlacatl qujtoaia, Concocolizcuj, aocmo quiçaz, aocmo motemachiz, in aço patiz, aocmo teumeiolloti, aocmo itech ca netemachilli:

auh intla aca oc maquiça, aoc ac itlamatian aoc ac itlatnaian: mjtoa. Ca ça oicnotlama, in jpalnemoanj, ça oquimonomavili, oquimoioculili:

aocmo iuh catca teiollo, ca oica netlapaloloc, neellaquaoloc, oquizcauhque injoiolque, ca oiquitecaque: aocmo iuhcan quizcoaiã inon oquẽteltzin, meoatiquetz, inon oihiio qujcujc, ca temauhti in jpan opeuh ilhujtl Nemõtemj:

ca atle itonal, ca atle itoca: ipampa aiac vel vncã ticitoca, tepatia, tetlapovia: ca nel amo vmpouhqui, atle ipooallo in jzquilhujtl navilhujtl.

4. The Tovar Calendar (Kubler and Gibson, op. cit., p. 36) adds that people did not gather at the temple, and that the priests performed no sacrifices nor other ceremony then.

262 toes,[8] manihot,[9] white[10] and yellow[11] sweet potatoes, colored sweet potatoes, *jícamas*,[12] plums,[13] *jobos*,[14] guavas,[15] *guajilotes*,[16] avocadoes,[17] carob fruit,[18] *tejocotes*,[19] American cherries,[20] tuna cactus fruit,[21] mulberries,[22] white[23], yellow,[24] and whitish-red cactus fruit,[25] *pitahayas*,[26] water *pitahayas*.[27] And the food for the deer [was] *pipillo*[28] and *tlachicaztli*.

754 648 And it is told why Moctezuma sent magicians and soothsayers — that they might behold what kind [of men] they were, and that perchance they might bewitch and cast a spell over them. Perhaps they might blow them away, or enchant them. Mayhap they might cast something at them, or they might, with some words of the Evil One, utter an incantation over them, so that they might sicken and die, or else because of it turn back.

But these, when they performed their charge and commission upon the Spaniards, were at once powerless. Nothing could they do.

Then they quickly returned and came to tell Moctezuma what they were like and how strong they were: "We cannot contend against them; we are as nothing."

camutli, quauhcamutli, poxcauhcamutli xochicamutli, tlapalcamutli, xicama, maçaxocotl, atoixocotl, xalxocotl, in quauhxilotl, aoacatl, oaxi, tezocotl, in capoli, in nochtli, in amacapuli, iztac nochtli, coznochtli, tlatocnochtli, tzaponochtli, anochtli: auh in maçatlaqualli, pipillo, tlachicaztli:

Auh qujl injc qujmjoa Motecuçoma in nauoalti, in tlaciuhque, injc qujmjttazque in quenamjque in aço vel qujntlacateculovizque, qujntlachivizque, in aço vel qujmjpitzazque qujnxoxazque in aço oc itla ic qujnmotlazque, in aço itla tlacateculotlatolli, ic qujntlanonochilizque, injc aço cocolizcujzque, mjmjquizque, in anoce ic ilotizque.

Auh in iehoantin in qujchiuhque in intequjuh, in innaoatil in intechpa españoles, çan njmã avelitque, atle vel qujchiuhque:

niman ic oalmocueptivetzque qujnonotzaco in Motecuçoma injc iuhque, injc chicaoaque, amo titenamjcoan, iuhqujn atitleme:

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8. *Camotli*: sweet potato, *batata* (*Ipomoea batatas* Poir, in Hernández, *op. cit.*, II, p. 521; *I. batatas* Lam., in Sahagún, *op. cit.*, p. 336).

9. *Quauhcamotli*: guacamote or camote (*Manihot utilissima* Pohl. —*cuforbiáceas*) in *ibid.*, p. 334; yuca in Santamaría, *op. cit.*, II, p. 36, and in Hernández, *op. cit.*, II, p. 524 (*M. aesculenta* Crantz).

10. *Poxcauhcamotli*: probably sweet potato of white skin and interior, Hernández, *op. cit.*, II, p. 521).

11. *Xochicamotli*: reddish or yellow sweet potato (*loc. cit.*).

12. *Xicama* (*jícama*): in *ibid.*, II, p. 522, *Pachyrhizus angulatus* Rich.; *P. palmatilobus* H. B. K. in Sahagún, *op. cit.*, p. 336.

13. *Maçaxocotl*: plum — *Spondias* sp. (*anacardiáceas*) (Sahagún, *op. cit.*, p. 334).

14. *Atoixocotl*: *Spondias lutea* L. (*anacardiáceas*: *loc. cit.*). *Jobo* (*Spondias mombin*, or *S. lutea*, or *purpurea*) in Santamaría, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 153, 155. See also Sahagún (Bourtanes and Simón tr.), p. 734, n. 6.

15. *Xalxocotl*: *Psidium pomiferum* L. (*mirtáceas*), in Sahagún (Robredo ed.), III, p. 335; guava.

16. *Quauhxilotl* (*guaxilote*): *Parmentiera edulis* D.C., in Hernández, *op. cit.*, II, p. 451; *Bombax palmeri* S. Wats, according to Santamaría, *op. cit.*, p. 95.

17. *Aoacatl* (*ahuacate*, *cuacuda*): *Laurus persea* in Sahagún (Jourdanet and Simón tr.), p. 734, n. 1.

18. *Oaxi* (*guaje*): *Leucaena esculenta* Benth. (*leguminosas*), in Sahagún (Robredo ed.), III, p. 335.

19. *Tezocotl* (*tejocote*): *Crataegus mexicana* Moc. & Ses., in Santamaría, *op. cit.*, III, p. 150.

20. *Capoli* (*cerezo indígena*): *Prunus capuli* Cav. (*rosáceas*), in Sahagún (Robredo ed.), III, p. 334.

21. *Nochtli*: *Nopal opuntia*, in *op. cit.*, p. 335.

22. *Amacapuli*: *moral indio* (*Chlorophora tinctorea* Gaud.; var. *mexicana*), in *loc. cit.* Black mulberry or blackberry in Santamaría, *op. cit.*, I, p. 88.

23. *Iztac nochtli*: white cactus fruit (*Opuntia* sp.), in Hernández, *op. cit.*, III, pp. 934, 936; *cosa blanca* (cf. Santamaría, *op. cit.*, III, p. 230).

24. *Coznochtli*: *cozna-tzapotli* (*Opuntia pseudo-cosa* Salm. Dyck; *cochinea*), in Sahagún, *op. cit.*, p. 335. *Tuna amarilla*?—cf. Santamaría, *loc. cit.* *Opuntia* sp. of yellow fruit in Hernández, *loc. cit.*

25. *Tlatocnochtli*: "*cosa blanca tirando a bermejo*": *Opuntia* sp., in *loc. cit.*

26. *Tzaponochtli* (*zapotenoche*, *pitahaya* — Santamaría, *op. cit.*, p. 314).

27. *Anochtli*: *possibly cosa de agua*, *pitahaya del agua* (*Pereskiopsis aquosa* Brit & Rose); cf. Santamaría, *op. cit.*, III, p. 229.

28. *Pipillo*: *possibly Andropin nutans* Pk.; cf. Santamaría, *op. cit.*, II, p. 495.

681 And then also at that time died those who were in jail, who were there for something which demanded the supreme penalty: perhaps an adulterer, 696 or a thief, or a fire priest of whom something had been found out — perchance he had had a paramour — and who was known as an evildoer; or whatsoever sin he had committed. Also of the captives some then died.

Auh yoan no iquac vncā mjquja in quaubcalco onoca, in jtla ic cate, in vei qujtzacuticatca, aço tetlanxinquj, anoço ichtecquj, in anoço tlenamacac, itla oittililoc, aço momecati, in moteneoa tlaçolchiuhque in çaço catle in ovi oqujtlaco: no iehoan in mamaltin, cequjntin vncan mjquja,

643 It was said that through these Moctezuma received life. By them his fate was strengthened; by them he 761 was exalted, and on them he placed the burden. So it was said that it was as if through them once more he were rejuvenated, so that he might live many years. Through them he became famous, achieved honor, and became brave, thereby making himself terrifying.

mjtoa: ca iehoan inca mozcaltiaia in motecuçoma, inca motonalchicaoaia, inca moquetzaia, inca moqujxtiaia, iuh mjtoa: iuhqujn oc ceppa inca mopilqujxtiaia, ynjc vecaoaz, inca motleiotia, momaujzçotia, motequantlalia, ic motlamauhtilia.

A 787 And when someone was then born,[3] they feared that the [Goddesses] might at that time descend. 851 But later, on Three Crocodile, he was bathed; then they made his fate somewhat better, for, so it was said, Three Crocodile was a good time.

Auh in aqujn ipan tlacatia, qujmacacia injc vncan temoa: auh qujn jpan in ei cipactli, maltiaia, vncan achi quiqualtilia in jtonal, iuh mjtoa: ca qualcan in jpan ey cipactli.

A 787 And also it was said that he who was then born 754 a nobleman became a sorcerer, an astrologer.[4] That 791 is to say, he was inhuman. He changed himself into something [else]: because of it he turned himself into something [else]. Perchance he had as a disguise a wild beast,[5] etc.

No yoan mjtoaia: in aqujn ipan tlacatia pilli, naoalli mochioaia tlāciuhquj, quitoznequj: amo tlacatl, itla quimonaoaltiaia, itla ic mocuepaia, aço tequannaoale. Etc.

And if [he were] a commoner, likewise it was his work to turn himself into perhaps a turkey, or a weasel, or a dog. Whatsoever was his guise became his magic form. All his task was to assume and accumulate all manner of evil. He influenced women; he bewitched and was clever with women;

auh intla maceoalli, no iuhquj itequjuh catca, aço totoli, aço coçamatl, anoço chichi, ipan moqujxtiaia, in çaço tlein inecuepaliz, ynaoal mochioaia, muchi itequjuh, quicenmama, quicemololoa, in jxquich tlauelilocaiotl, cioanotzquj, xochioa, cjoatlatole, tempachioace, tetlatlacuepili, teiolmalacacho, trioiolmala-

3. An additional phrase in the Real Palacio M3 will change the meaning somewhat: *ayamo mahuiya, ypampa — and when someone was then born, not then was he bathed for they feared. . . .*

4. Angel María Garibay K.: "Paralipómenos de Sahagún." *Tlalocan*, II, 2 (1946), p. 171.

5. *Ibid.* pp. 170-172: *"en primer término significó . . . algo así como un 'demonio familiar,' o un 'doble' del alma, a manera del epipicio [citing a passage in La leyenda de los soles] . . . De este primario significado pasó a la de la 'duplicación de la persona,' o el 'desdoblamiento.' . . . Se concibe el tonalli capaz de tomar las formas que él quiere, de aparecer en diversos modos y lugares, de ejecutar obras que no son del hombre común; hay en él algo más que hombre: hay un nahualli poderoso y malintencionado."* Derivation of the word may be from *nahuali, nahuala, "verbo arcaico, que encontramos en muchos compuestos. Su sentido es en general 'engañar, disimular' y conviene muy bien al prestidigitador, como al mago, que con embustes, fundados o sólo subjetivos, embauca a las gentes. En léxicos hallamos, entre otros, los verbos: nahualcaqui, entrar disimulado, con cautela, secretamente; nahualcuitia, tomar algo a otro con cautela o disimulación; nahuallachia, acechar mirando, etc. Cabe dudar, sin embargo, si este verbo es el primitivo de nahualli o un derivado suyo."*

In Hernando Ruiz de Alarcón, Pedro Sánchez de Aguilar, and Gonzalo de Balsalobre: *Tratado de las idolatrías, supersticiones, dioses, ritos, hechicerías y otras costumbres gentílicas de las razas aborígenes de México* (México: Ediciones Fuente Cultural, 1953), pp. 24 ff., it is said that *"se dedicaban al animal que el demonio les señalaba para que fuesen la que llaman nahualli. . . .*

". . . cuando el niño nace, el demonio por el punto expresso o tacito que sus padres tienen con el, le dedica o sujeta al animal, que el dicho niño ha de tener por tutual, que es como dezir por dueño de su voluntad y señor de sus acciones o lo que los gentiles llamaban hado, y en virtud desto punto queda el niño sujeto a todos los peligros y trabajos que padeciere el animal hasta la muerte.

". . . advierte la denominacion y significacion del nombre nahualli, que puede derivarse de una de tres raizes que significan: la primera, mandar; la segunda, hablar con imperio, la tercera, ocultarse o rebocarse, y aunque de consonancias para que se acomoden las dos primeras significaciones, me quadro mas la tercera, que es del verbo nahualtia que es acomodarse cubriendose con algo, que viene a ser lo mismo que rebocarse, y assi, nahualli dira rebocado, o disfrazado debajo de la apparencia del tal animal, como ellos comunmente lo creen."

See also Chap. XI, n. 1, *infra*.

1/A [i.e., the day One Rain. – Analyst]

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he knew their secrets. He recovered things for people. He provoked and incited people, and caused them to believe diverse things. And [he was] a demon; he caused demons to enter one; he destroyed people and brought them to ruin. He swept people's paths for them [indicating sins which they must confess];[6] he set up ceremonial wooden figures of those killed in war, and caused them to burn for people.[7] He was a magician, one who removed his leg.[8] These were only the works of this person.

He hired and lent himself to others in order to make his living. When at night he went forth somewhere to ruin people, he changed himself into, perhaps, a turkey, or a weasel, or a dog. He who hated someone hired him to destroy his enemy, when he wished and willed death upon him. Four times, on four nights, he performed his task when he destroyed people.

This same one sought out an evil day sign; then was the time to destroy someone. When he had done his task well on one, when already four times he had returned to the victim's home, it was said: "He hath drawn him forth." But sometimes [the evildoer] fell into [his victim's] hands; he fell and was taken into the hands of others, and was seized and quickly captured. The brave one who was to be destroyed, who was hated, vigilantly stalked him in order to catch him. He seized his hair; from the top, the crown, he pulled hair from his head. He jerked off his hair; he seized, wrenched, and tore it off; he removed his hair. No more did he escape. Forthwith he died; he could only reach his home to die.

And if in vain he tried to remedy, or, indirectly, to palliate [the situation], so that he might not die, still seeking to follow his work and control and establish his fate, in vain he contrived to take or borrow something — perchance water or fire, or a bowl, which he borrowed from the house of the one he had gone forth to destroy, who had there seized him. But if the one to be destroyed were indeed wise, prudent,[9] and well advised, he gave nothing at all to anyone. All during the day, until [the next] dawn came, he lent nothing to anyone. On the morrow,

cacho, teiollapan, teioiollapan, tetlatlaneltoqujti, ioan tlacatecolotl, tetlatlacatecolovia, tepoloa, tlâtlalpoloa, tecacalochpana, teevillotlatia, tetlatlatoqujlia, tlaujpuchtli, mometzcopina, çan vel iê itequjuh,

ic tlaqueoalo, ic motetlaqueoaltia, ic motlaiecoltia, in cana iooaltica tepolotiuh, aço totoli, aço coçamatl, anoço chichi, ipâ mocuepa, in aqujn tecocolianj qujtlaqueoa, injc qujpolotiuh itlacocolil, in qujmjqujtlanj, qujmjquiztemachia, nappa nauhiooal in ontepoloa, in qujchioa itequjuh:

çan no iê qujtztiuh, in aqualli tonalli, in vncan itepoloaia, in aca ouel qujchiuh, in ie nappa oilo ichan, mjtoa: ocontlaqujxtili, auh in quenman temac vetzi, temac aquj, temac maquja, axioa, cujtiuecchoa, in aqujn iolchicaoac pololonj, cocolilonj, uel quimopachiuia injc caci, qujtzoncuj, iquaxepantla, yquaiolloco qujmomotzalhuja in jtzon, qujquatemotzoltzitzquia qujquavivitla, qujtzoncopina, aocmo qujça, njman iquac mjquj, ça onmjctaci in jchan:

auh in oc nen, ic mopatiznequj, ic mopaiaoalochtiznequj, injc amo mjquiz, oc motlaiecoltia. motonalanaznequj, motonallalilizneuqj, oc nen itla qujmocujcujcachioa, qujmotlatlanevia, aço atl, aço tletl, aço caxitl, in conmotlaneuja ichan in oquipoloto, in vmpa ocacique: auh in vel qujmati, in tlaueuemachtilli, in tlanonotzalli in pololonj: njman aoc tle qujtemaça, in iuh cemjlhujtl in oallatvic, aoc tle qujtetlaneuhtia, yn jmoztlaioc: ic vncan vel tematlac maquja, in tlacatecolotl, onmjquj, ca nel ie oncan ca itequjuh, ca iê in qujtetemoa, ca ie vncan ca ipoliujz:

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6. Cf. Leonhard Schultze Jena: *Wahrsagerei, Himmelskunde und Kalender der alten Azteken* (Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer, 1950), p. 350: "*Das Fest des Wegfegens wurde zu Ehren der Göttermutter veranstaltet, deren Priester die Beichte derer entgegennahmen, die sich geschlechtlich vergangen hatten. Das Wort besagt also: Er fegt den Leuten den Zugangsweg zu den Häusern wieder sauber, in übertragenem Sinn: Er bewirkt, daß die Leute geschlechtliche Sünden zu beichten haben und dadurch ihrer ledig werden.*"

7. Cf. *infra*, Chap. 19, where a full description appears.

8. Cf. variant translation in Jena, *op. cit.*, p. 141: "*Und hinter ihm kommt eine Hexe her, eine vom Monde, die genau so gut jenes Arbeit tut.*"

9. *Tlamelmatilli* in the *Real Palacio* MS.

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then, indeed, the demon was enclosed in one's net. He died. For in truth this was his destiny, for they sought him continually, and it then was the time of his ruin. For he knew in his heart, while yet he lived, that perchance somewhere he might be seized. For so had he been born only to die.[10] Never was he content nor happy; he went about in rags, poorly clothed. And he lived only in suffering. He raged over drink and food. Everywhere was he feared; nowhere could he enter among people. No one was his friend.

But although he were seized and taken, he was not frightened, nor did he therefore cease. He paid no heed. If he had children, always he lived the same, never wishing to mend his ways. There he went to his end, and they punished him. Thus all went; thus all was destroyed.

Just so if it were a woman, all evil were her works. She lived in great misery. Nowhere was her home. Even though she were a noblewoman, nowhere was she favored or noticed. Just as if dead, she lived in affliction. It was said that just so was her day sign one of misery.

ca njmã iuh iiollo quimatia in oc nemj, in aço cana axioaz: ca njman iuh ipan tlacat içan miquiz: njman ȩic avia, aic vellamati, itzotzoma, itatapa ietinemj auh çan moxixicotinemj, maçoma, motlaqualçoma, noviian imacaxo, acan vel tepan calaquj, aiac icnjuh:

auh in manel ie oanoc, oaxioac, amo ic momauhtia, amo ic motzaqua, amo ic quicaquj, intla oncate ipilhoã, çan mochipa iuh nemj, amo quicaoaliztlamati, vncan activi quitzacutiuj, much iuh vi, much iuh polivi,

çan no iuhquj itequjuh catca intla çioatl, muchi amo qualli in jtequjuh catca, cenca motolinjuinenca, âcan ichan, in manel cioapilli, âcan ixtona, âcan motztica, can iuhquj onmjquj, totoneoatiuh in jiollo, mjtoa ca nel iuhquj itonal in jcnoiotl.

10. *Ya que con maguia in tlid.*

Thirty-first Chapter, which telleth of the eighteenth sign, named One Wind, and the evil, the bad, which was with it. It was said that those then born gained as reward an evil day sign.

— One Wind. This One Wind, they said, was evil. At this time they made offerings to the one called Quetzalcoatl, who was the representative of the wind, the whirlwind.

And of him who was then born, they said that, if he were a nobleman, he would be a wizard,[1] inhuman; an astrologer,[2] one who had spells to cast.[3] It was evident to them that he was a man; nevertheless he was evil, corrupt, one who deluded, laid enchantments — the devil's works. He breathed [evil] on people, or cast the evil eye at them, or said spells over them, brought harm on them, or invoked the god [to do evil] to one. All his doings he mastered — all. Perhaps his was the disguise of a fierce beast, or a coyote, etc.

And if it were a commoner, in just the same way it was said of him that he was a demon: he caused one to be possessed, or to become demented; he danced with the arm taken from a woman dead in first childbed; he was a destroyer of men; he burned images for one.[4] Likewise, if it were a woman, she could enchant by taking apart or disarticulating the bones of the foot,[5] etc.

Injc cempoalli on matlactli oce capitulo: itechpa tlatoa injc caxtolli vmei machiotl, in jtoca ce hecatl: ioan in amo qualli, in amo iectli in jtech ca: qujl amo qualli tonalli quimáceoaia, in vncan tlacatia. 787[illegible]

In ce hecatl: inin ce hecatl, qujtoa amo qualli, vncan qujtonaltitzia, in moteneoa quetzalcoatl, in jxiptla catca hecatl, hecamalacotl:

auh in aquin vncan tlacatia, qujtoa intla pilli, naoalli iez, amo tlacatl, tlaciuhquj, nenonotzale, impanj neçi ca tlacatl, ieçé amo qualli, itlacauhquj, itla qujmati, tlacatecolotlatolli, tlacatecoloiotl, teipitzanj, tezoxanj, tetlachiujanj, tetlanonochili, tetlateononochili, much ichiujl much qujmati, aço tequannaoale, coionaoale. Ere. 787[illegible] 754

auh intla maceoalli çan ie no iuhquj iehoatl in mjtoa: tlacatecolotl, tetlatlacatecolouja, tepupuzaquavia, temamacpalitoia, tepoloanj, terujllotlatia: no iuhquj intla cioatl mometzcopinquj, mometzcopinanj. Ere.

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1. Corresponding Spanish text: "*sería ensalgador . . . se transfiguraría en muchas formas . . . sería supersticioso, y hechicero, y maléfico.*" Seler (Collected Works, Vol. II. Pt. 1-2, p. 53) describes the *nanalli* as a magician and sorcerer of high class. His attributes marked him since his youth; he knew the hidden things of heaven and hell; he had supernatural powers, such as of forecasting rain, dispersing hail and pestilence, and protecting against wicked magicians; he lived unmarried, as a priest, in a temple, and advised the king and the people; he feasted, and for his acts used talismans and such materials as calabashes and peyote.

   See also Chapter 11, n. 4, *supra*.

2. "*Nombre más o menos relacionado con* [*nanahuatzin, nacxitzin, granizero, hail-thrower*]. *La raíz nah, parece designar fundamentalmente sobrenaturales*" (Garibay, "Panfilo Nerio de Salvagio," *Tlalocan*, II, 2 [1946], p. 171). Simeon, *op. cit.*, defines *nanahuatzin* as "*familiarmente un pariente del demonio, que dentro más parecemos ellos los Gentiles al que Dios nuestro consultaba de sus hechos* (Ind.)."

3. Cf. Molina, *op. cit.*, *ensalmar-hilo*. *Nevomantia*, however, could imply a pact or an understanding with the *demonio* as in Chapter 11, n. 4.

4. Cf. *supra*, Chapter 19.

5. *Motecuepitza*, in Harold Key and Mary Ritchie: *Vocabulario mexicano de la Sierra de Zacapoaxtla, Puebla* (Mexico: Instituto Lingüístico de Verano and Dirección General de Asuntos Indígenas, 1953), is defined as *se rompe (el pie)*; *cuépitza*, in Santamaría, *op. cit.*, Vol. III, p. 388, is "*Descoyuntarse, dislocarse los huesos.*"

   Seler, *op. cit.*, p. 56, describes one who "cuts himself up. He lays his hands and feet in separate places. He dismembers all the joints. Then he covers the mangled members with a light cloth, and then they begin to sprout and to grow again, so that it seems as if he had not been cut up, and thus he proves that this too is a juggler's trick."

   See also *Motecuepitza* in Salvagio (Garibay ed.), Vol. IV, p. 344.

And when he brought destruction on one, then he chose an evil day sign; he sought and searched it out. They said that he did great evil to one on Nine Dog, or Nine Death, or Nine Grass, and indeed on all the ninth positions, and the other bad day signs mentioned—each of the different positions named.[6]

auh in jpan tepoloaia, vncan qujmattiuja in aqualli tonalli, ichoatl contotocaia, contlatotoqujlaia, qujtoa cenca ipan tepoloaia in chicunauj itzcujntli, anoço chicunauj mjqujztli, chicunauj malinalli: ioan in ie muchi chichicunanauj, ioan in oc cenuj motenewa aqualli tonalli, in jzqujcan omoteneuh,

And of such different positions, it is told that he who had work of this sort, whose labors became these separate tasks, who undertook these various burdens, was never content. He had no food. He lived only in poverty, destitute, without a house or home; nowhere was he a householder; nowhere was he of a happy home, a householder of tranquility. He went looking forward only to misery. He went eating and consuming food for himself only if somewhere something were given him, if he were offered something in order to destroy people as a reward for doing evil to them. Perhaps somewhere he was seized when already he became negligent, slothful, or developed an aversion [to evil]. Then he was seized, and they cut hair from the crown of his head; they took his renown from him and damaged his day sign for him. Thus he was abandoned to his death by the hands of others.

auh in jpan tepoloaia, vncan qujmattiuja in aqualli tonalli, ichoatl contotocaia, contlatotoqujlaia, qujtoa cenca ipan tepoloaia in chicunauj itzcujntli, anoço chicunauj mjqujztli, chicunauj malinalli: ioan in ie muchi chichicunanauj, ioan in oc cenuj motenewa aqualli tonalli, in jzqujcan omoteneuh,

auh in iuh quezquican omjto, in aquin iuhquj in itequjuh, itztequjuh muchioa, qujmotetequjlia, aic auja, atle qujquanj, çan motolinjtinemj, aoneoatinemj, ácan ichã, ácan chanca, amo chane caca, acan chantlamattica: acan chane ca tlamattica, çan icnosotl qujtztinemj, çan ic conquatiuh, çan ic onmotlamjtiuh, intla cana itla maco, nemaqujlilo injc tepoloa, injc netlaquvilo: ânoce eam axioa in jquac ie otlatlatziujti, ie ontlaxujti, ie otlatlatzilhuj, vncan ano. qujtzoncuj, qujtleiocujlia, qujtonalitlacoa: ic ça tr-mac onmomjqujzcacaoa:

And the ones known as men who danced with a dead woman's forearm, who crazed people,[7] when perhaps they would commit a robbery somewhere and spirit something from someone's home, would adorn the image of One Wind [Quetzalcoatl]. It went as their guide, at their head, guiding, marching in front. And they went bearing with them the forearm[8] of a woman who had died in childbed, and could not give birth to what was in her womb. When they took it from the one who had died, they only stole it during the night: they cut it off at midnight.

auh in iehoantin motenecoa, temamacpalitoloque, tepupuxaquaujque, in jquac tla cana ichtequjzque, techan tlaqujxtiuque, qujchichioaia in jxiptla ce hecatl: qujmacantiuja iniacac, imjxpan icatiuja. ioan qujtqujtiuj in jmacpal mocioquetiquj, in iti ic iauh in axel mjxtiuj iquac qujcujliaia in qujn onmjquj, çan oquichteccacuja, icaltica in quitequjliaia, iocalli iti-

And so did they bury her, not at her home, but only leaving her there in the road; there at the very crossroads they buried her. They went skirmishing, fighting over her, and howling as they carried her. And as they brought her out of her house, it was not from the front; only at the back of the house,

auh injc qujtocaia amo ichan, çan vmpa concaoaia in vtlica, vncan in uel omaxac contoca, qujnêcaliltitiuj, ipan necalioatiuh, coiovitiuj injc qujujca: auh injc qujoalqujxtia ichan, amo ixcopa in jcal, çan qujcujtlacoionja in calli, vmpa qujqujztia injc concaoa vmaxac:

6. Omoteneuh in the Real Palacio MS.

7. Corresponding Spanish text: "tenan palos muertos, o por otra semejante superstición."

8. Ibid.: "Un brazo desde el codo, hasta la mano, de alguna muger; que tuviesse muerto, del primer parto: las cortauan, a hurto, el braço ya-quando." Seler, loc. cit., describes hypocrites "who knocking on the threshold of a house with the hand of a woman who died in childbed, used the entire household into a paralyzed and immovable state, and then plunder with impunity the whole house and commit every possible infamy upon its inmates."

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they broke a hole, through which they removed her so that they could leave her at the crossroads.[9]

And when those who danced with the forearm would somewhere destroy or rob people, one person carried and bore the forearm of the woman who had died in childbirth, on his shoulder. It was the one on her left, her left forearm. When he came to reach one's house, but had not yet entered the house, first of all he struck the mid-point of the courtyard with the forearm. Twice he struck. On reaching the entrance of the house, he struck the portal, the lintel, and then he passed by the square, wooden pillar. Then he once again struck there before the hearth.

When such came to pass, it was said, no more did one speak out. No one could be aroused. Verily, the householders had swooned with fear. And some of them were in a deep sleep, snoring and rumbling: there was sleeping as if one's nose were broken. And if now some only in vain sat looking, they could not move, nor stir, nor resist. They were stunned; their arms and legs were deadened. For verily they were spread out gazing upward with unseeing, glassy, and staring eyes.

And these great, evil thieves thereupon lit up the torches and sought out the food. First of all they ate; they took it for themselves. None could restrain them. For in truth they had overcome and bewitched the people. When they had satisfied themselves, then they entered the storerooms, the storage chambers, and bundled up and removed all the capes; the large, cotton blankets; the green stone; the gold. Indeed, everything that had been hidden away — the treasures, the guarded things, — all was laden on their backs; all was appropriated and sorted out. Whatsoever it was, they placed as much on their backs, and with it arrayed themselves.

And in very truth, so it is said and so it is known, they did not leave them having done nothing; nor, with no result, did they take their pleasure with them taking advantage of their sleep, of the sleep into which the common folk had been thrown, to hang on to [the women], line them up, rolling them aside and enjoying another's place. There where each one lay apart, where she was stretched out, they simply rolled her over to another place. How much the wicked ones made sport of them cannot be said.[10]

auh in ieoantin in temamacpalitotique, in jquac cana tepolozque, ichtequjzque, ce tlacatl conquechpanoa conmoquechpanoltia in jmacpal, mocioquetzquj, iehoatl in in jopuch, iopuchma, in jquac oacito techan, in aiamo calaquj calitic: oc ie achto icoalnepantla ic tlaujtequj in macpalli, ic oppa tlaujtequj, in oacique, caltempan, qujujtequj in calixquatl, in tlaixquatl: njman iee in tlaquetzalli, ic conmocaoa in tlecujlixquac, oc ceppa oncan tlaujtequj,

in jquac in iuh mjtoa njman aocac naoati, aocac uel mopoçaoa, vel ioiolmjquj in chaneque, auh in cequjn çan vel cocochmjquj, tlacotaliuj, tlaquaqualaca, iuhqujn neacatzaianalocochioa, auh intla ça oc aca nenitztoc, aoc vel molinja, aoc uel mocuechinja, aoc vel momapatla, vel çoçotlaoa, çoçotlacmjquj yn jnma, in jmjcxi, ca nelli mach in acopa teiiztoque, ixtepepetzme, ixpepetzteme onoque, ixpepetzintoque:

auh in iehoantin ichtecpatlachpopul, njman ie ic tlepitza, quitemoa in tlaqualli, achtopa tlaqua, vel motlacuja aiac qujmelleltia, ca nel ontepoloque, ontepuxaquaujque in jquac onmoiollalique njman ic calaquj in tlecopa, in tlatlatilcali, tlamaololoa, tlaqujxtia in jxqujch tilmatli, in quachtli, in chalchiujtl, in teocujtlatl, in ie ixquich tlatilonj, in tetzontli, in piclli, netlacujtlaputzmamaltilo, netlanênectilo, netlatlattililo, in çaço ac quexquich ic conmotlamamaltia, ic onmuchichioa:

auh in nel cenca iuh onmjtoa, in iuh onmachizti, amo nentecaoa, amo nenquiça, teca mauhtiteoa in iuh cochioa, necochtilo macoxalpan pilcoatoc, xipantoatoc, teiiquanja, tepapatla, in vncan ceceiaca ionoia, inetecaia, oc ie cecni conteca, amo vel mjtoz, in quexquich ic teca mauhtia tlauelilocque:

9. Cf. account of the swashbucklers in Sahagún, *Historia Universal*, pp. 305 ff.

10. Corresponding Spanish text: "hacian muchos escándalos, y desvergüenzas en los mesmos, de aquello cesa."

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And as they went along the road, nowhere did they rest or refresh themselves. They immediately sought out their homes. It was so said and affirmed that if any of them rested by the road, he could no longer go, rise up, nor travel. There the dawn would overtake him. He would betray his fellow thieves. They would be seized; each one seized and imprisoned, despoiled, and firmly bound.

-auh injc vi otlica acan mocetuja, ácan mjtquiceria, ça quin cẽ vmpa quimattiuj in jnchan: inh mjtoa, quilmach intla aca moceviz vtlica: aioc uel yaz, aio uel meoaz, aioc vel otlatocaz: vncan ipan thathuja, quinnenotlaz in jchteccaicnjoan, anozque, çaçacoz-que, namoialozque, tecácatzilpiloz.

825 And when it appeared that indeed all the chicks
235 fell upon their backs so that they died,[27] upon this they said: "They died of filth; perchance someone came to go in among them; or looked upon them; or indeed it was the householder who slew them by filth." Because of this, they believed, indeed all the turkeys had fallen upon their backs so that they died.

Auh injc neci çan muchintin aaquetztiuj injc mjquj totolpipil, ic qujtoa: ca tlaçolmjquj: aço aca inpan ocalaqujco, anoço oquimjttac, anoço aca vel chane in oquintlaçolmjcti: ic quimatia, in çan muchin aaquetztivi totolme, injc mjquj.

825 It was said that also the same befell those who
235 were married. If perchance somewhere one's spouse,
837 whether woman or man, fell into adultery, they then believed that those which had fallen upon their backs or stumbled over, indeed accused him.

Quil no iuh inpan muchioa in namjqueque: in aço cana quitlaxima inamjc, in aço cioatl, anoço toquichtin: injc quimati, çan quipiqui in aaquetztivetti, anoce cana motlavitequj.

286 **Twenty-fifth Chapter, which telleth of her who wove with yarn.**

When [a woman] wove with yarn perhaps a mantle, or a shift, or a skirt, which came out awry, unevenly disposed, with crooked edges, they said and it was thought that the weaver of the mantle or shift was not generous. Just like a crooked seam, perverse [would she be]; not generous.[28]

Injc cempoalli onmacujlli capitulo, ytechpa tlatoa: in icpatl quiquiti.

In icpatl, in aço tilmatli, anoço vipilli, anoço cueitl: in iquac quiquiti in chicopatilivi, in chicoviaquixtiuh, in tennecujliuhtiuh, quitoaia: quilmach amo tlacaiollo yn tilmaoa, yn vipilli: çan cueciuhquj, çan tlatlaveliloc: amo tlacaiollo.

821 **Twenty-sixth Chapter, which telleth of hail.**

When it rained, and much hail fell, one who there [had] his maize, chili, bean, or chía field scattered ashes from the hearth out of the entrance into the courtyard. It was said that thus his maize field would not be hailed out; it was thought that thus the hail would disappear.

Injc cempoalli on chiquacen capitulo, ytechpa tlatoa in tecivitl.

In iquac quiavi, in cenca tecivi: in aquin vnca imjl, anoço ychilcuen, anoço yiecuen, ychian: tleconextli quiiaoac quioaltepeoa, itvalco: quilmach yc amo tecivilo in imjl, quil ic poliui in tecivitl.

● 754 **Twenty-seventh Chapter, which telleth of sorcer-**
776 **ers.**

789 At night walked demons — perchance wizards and sorcerers — where they harmed one in one's home. When the householders saw them, when perhaps some [demon] so [would] harm them, they then placed an obsidian knife in water, behind the door, or in the courtyard. They laid it down at night. They said and it was believed that there the demons and sorcerers would look at their reflections when they would harm one, or there would be death, or sickness would come upon the people.

Injc cempoalli on chicome capitulo, yntechpa tlatoa in tlatlavipuchti.

In iocaltica nemj tlatlacateculo: aço nanacalti, tlavipuchtin in canjn ontepoloa in techan: in oquimjttaque in aço itla ic quinpoloa in chaneque: nman atlan conteca ytzli puertatitlan, anoço itoalco quimana in iocaltica, quitoaia: quilmach vncan onmotencavia in tlatlacateculo, yn tlavipuchtin in tepoloa: aço mjcoaz, anoce cocoliztli tepan muchioaz.

27. Corresponding Spanish text: *"los pollos se cayan muertos, los ponia arriba: y esto, llamau dapolmjqui."*

28. Corresponding Spanish text: *"o parecia, en que la tela, o paruas hiscruuada."* Caswayo, in Simeon, *op. cit.*, is to make a false seam.

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At once they fled; nevermore would they come to harm one when they had seen the obsidian knife resting in the water.

Ic njman choloa, aiocmo ceppa tepolotivi: in jquac oquittaque itztli, atlan onoc. 776 789

Twenty-eighth Chapter, which telleth of the gnawed leavings of a mouse.

Injc cempoalli on chicuei capitulo, ytechpa tlatoa in quimjchin ytentlacaoal. 825

Whatsoever a mouse had gnawed none might eat. It was said that he who ate what a mouse had left would be falsely accused. For it was said that the mouse came to steal it; he came to eat it in stealth. Wherefore no one might eat gnawed leavings of a mouse. Likewise it was said of it that he who ate the gnawed leavings of a mouse would be accused falsely of some sort of story or of that which might be missing.[29]

In quimjchin in çaço tlein quiqua: aiac vel quiqualiaia, quilmach in aquin quiqualia yn q'caoa quimjchin, itech tlatlamjz, ca mjtoa: oquichtequjco in quimjchin, oquichtacaqua. Ipampa y, in aiac vel quiqualiaia in itentlacaoal quimjchin. No yuh ipan mjtoz: in aquin quiqua itentlacaoal quimjchin, itech tlatlamjz, in çaço tlein tlatolli, anoço in tlein poliviz.

Twenty-ninth Chapter, which telleth of nails.

Injc cempoalli on chicunavi capitulo, ytechpa tlatoa in jztitl. 826 776

It was said that, when nails were pared, they cast them into the water. It was thought that this was because the water dog[30] would make good [nails] grow out — not broken; they would be sound. For when it drew someone into the water, [the water-dog] tore away his nails and eyes.

Quilmach in tozti, in jquac motetequja, atlan contepeoaia, quilmach ipampa: in iehoatl avitzotl, qualli quixoaltiz: amo papatzaoaz, qualli yez. Ipampa: in jquac aquin quilaquiaia, quiquixtiliaia in jzti, ioan ixtelolo.

Thirtieth Chapter, which telleth of sneezing.

Injc cempoalli ommatlactli capitulo, ytechpa tlatoa in acucholiztli. 827

When someone sneezed, they said, in times past: "Someone speaketh of me; someone saith well of me." Or they said: "Someone speaketh ill of me." Or they said: "Some people discuss me." It was thought that they made it evident, and knew, when they sneezed, that someone far away mentioned them.

In jquac aca acuchoa, quitoaia in ie vecauh: aquin nechitoa, aquin nechteneoa: anoce quitoaia: aquin nêchicoitoa, anoçe quitoa: aquique in noca mononotza. Quil iehoatl quinezcaiotiaia, iehoatl ic quimatia: in jquac acuchoa, in aca canapa veca quinteneoa.

Thirty-first Chapter, which telleth of small children.

Injc cempoalli ommatlactli oce capitulo, ytechpa tlatoa in pipiltotonti. 853

When small children still lay in the cradle and something was eaten or drunk,[31] first they placed it upon [their] foreheads.[32] It was said that in this way [the child] would not hiccough or be afflicted by what he ate or drank.

In iehoantin in pipiltotonti: in jquac yn oc coçolco onoque: in jquac tlaqualo, anoço itla mjz, achto ijxquac contlaliaia, quilmach ic amo tzitzicunoz, amo moeolinjz in tlein moqua, anoço mj.

29. Corresponding Spanish text: *"de harto, o de saludable, o de otra cosa."*

30. *Animal*: Tolor, in *Collected Works*, Vol. IV, 2. 21, refers to it as a spectral water animal or sprite "which drew men down into the water and ate off the nails and hair of immersed men" (citing Sahagún, XI, cap. 4, § 2, and V, App., cap. 29). Summarists, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 66 (*ahuizotl*), calls it *nutria o perro del agua* (Lutra felina).

31. Corresponding Spanish text: *"quando comjan, o bevjan en presencia de algun niño."*

32. *Ibid.*: *"en la boca."*